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LIVING WITH THE BOMB

An indefensible policy—Soper

EMRYS HUGHES, MP, ON Bevan and the tests

"I DO not believe that we can end nuclear tests without logically abandoning the whole strategy of nuclear warfare," Emrys Hughes, MP, told the House of Commons during the Foreign Affairs debate on Monday.

He was speaking shortly after Mr. Aneurin Bevan had reiterated Labour's intention of stopping nuclear tests if they were returned to power.

If a Labour Government were returned, Emrys Hughes said, "those of us who hold what is called the pacifist point of view would naturally argue—'If you abandon nuclear tests, the time has come when you have to abandon production of hydrogen bombs, and the whole strategy of nuclear warfare.'"

Although that was supposed to be the point of view of only a small minority in the House, he believed it was becoming widely held outside.

Orthodox Parties

"We have such things as the Aldermaston marchers—young people trying to express a point of view that is not expressed at any time now by the leaders of the orthodox parties."

"Let the leaders of the orthodox parties realise that this emotion or idea exists and that it is essentially a challenge to conventional views on foreign policy."

He believed that Field-Marshal Montgomery was right in stressing the need for a new international policy and was "expressing in his own way very much the same point of view as the young people who joined in the Aldermaston marches."

Saying that he believed that people everywhere were realising the stupidity of spending enormous sums of money on useless deterrents, Emrys Hughes continued:

10-year Peace Plan

"I believe that if the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary, under the auspices of the United Nations, outlined a ten-year peace plan for raising the standard of life of every continent in the world it would meet with a response. The Soviet Union could not oppose it, because it is in line with its own economic philosophy."

"I welcome the Prime Minister's visit to the Soviet Union because it did, to some extent, help to relieve tension in Europe. I believe that it was motivated by good intention, but we know where the road which is paved only with good intention leads."

"We need to follow up the contacts which the Prime Minister has made with a new and definite line of foreign policy by repudiating the whole strategy of nuclear war, offering as Lord Montgomery has said, new hope to the youth of today in the hope that there will be some light at the end of the tunnel."



Emrys Hughes, MP

A BRITISH Council of Churches report on "Christians and Atomic War" issued last week has brought strong protests from pacifists and supporters of nuclear disarmament in the press and on radio and television.

In a radio discussion last Friday with the Rev. Alan Booth, one of those responsible for the report, Dr. Donald Soper, while commending the report as "a careful document which ought to be treated very seriously," said:

"As a Christian pacifist I cannot accept its main basis, which is undoubtedly to rule out the pacifist case and to suggest other immediate and less radical answers to what is a supremely difficult problem."

"It states that we have to live with the bomb. This is indefensible as the purport of Christian teaching and the Christian spirit. It is comparable to telling doctors we have to live with leprosy and yellow fever—therefore they would not learn to get rid of it. Or to telling a housewife there is a man-eating tiger in the kitchen as a deterrent to burglars. This approach cannot be reconciled with the basic good news of the Gospel."

Rev. Alan Booth: We have the knowledge; we cannot ban it; it is there for good. Even if we destroyed stocks, in an

Nuclear disarmament in the villages

AN attempt is being made to organise three teams of people who will walk around Britain during June, July and August starting public interest in villages and coastal resorts on the issue of nuclear disarmament.

Frank W. Heny, of the Leeds Pacifist Youth Action Group, who is organising the programme from his home at 261 Woodlands Grove, Leeds 11, already has the interest of forty people in his proposal and has the offer of a land-rover and caravan as a mobile headquarters.

It is proposed that those taking part for a long period during the summer should spend a week at the Watton (Norfolk) missile base before starting off. It is hoped that many people will join the walks for short or long periods according to the time they have available.

One team will hope to cross England and Wales and arrive at Llangollen in time for the International Eisteddfod.



Donald Soper

DIRECT ACTION NEWS

Leaflets barred from RAF camp

DURING the last two months the Direct Action Committee against Nuclear War has been conducting a campaign in the Watton, Norfolk, area, where it is believed that a Blue Streak rocket base is being constructed. The aim of the campaign has been to make the people in the area aware of the existence of the base and the threat it is to them and to get workers on the base to leave their jobs.

So far almost a quarter of the area has been leafleted, and local trade unions and Labour parties have been approached. An open-air meeting was held in the town of Thetford and the Rev. Michael Scott will speak at a meeting in Watton on May 5.

The campaign has been widely reported in several local papers, including the Eastern Daily Press, Lynn News and the Watton and Thetford Journal.

On the first weekend that the campaign began, the Commanding Officer on the Watton base stopped all weekend leave. In an interview with the Commanding Officer, Oxford Quaker Will Warren, who is in charge of the campaign, obtained a promise that no further weekend leave would be

stopped; the Committee would give notice of any civil disobedience project, he said.

The Commanding Officer also told Will Warren that he was not to leaflet the married quarters of the camp.

Anybody who wishes to help with the campaign is asked to contact the Direct Action Committee at 344, Seven Sisters Rd., London, N.4. (STA 7062.)

Future activity

ABOUT 100 participants in Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War projects met at Kingsway Hall, London, last Saturday for a conference on future activities under the chairmanship of Michael Randle.

The afternoon session divided into four groups: to consider 1, political action; 2, civil disobedience projects; 3, trade union action; and 4, income tax and rate refusal and the provision of alternative employment.

A straw vote for the guidance of the Committee indicated a small majority in favour of Voters' Veto.

emergency we know full well men can make them. The report says that we have to live with the fact that men have found the power to destroy each other on a massive scale. The question is how to control it.

Dr. Soper: The document says we are faced with the bomb as an inevitable fact. I consider the Christian view is that we can get rid of it.

In a televised discussion on the previous Wednesday, the Provost of Southwark, the Rev. George Reindorp, said that he thought it a wrong policy to rely on thermo-nuclear weapons, "but once committed to such a policy it is extremely difficult to reverse it. We are equipping ourselves with weapons that only a madman could ever use."

never justified

Nicholas Fenn, who is working with undergraduates at Cambridge, thought that the force represented by megaton bombs could never be the lesser of two evils.

"Why not nuclear pacifism," he asked. "Why not say 'This could never be justified?'"

"I had looked for something more fundamental, some advocacy of unilateral action by Britain."

"Britain should take unilateral action, lead a non-nuclear club, and let this country be used as a guinea-pig for the purpose of inspection, etc. Purely old-fashioned national sovereignty must not be allowed to stand in the way of what is morally right."

At the meeting of the British Council of Churches at which the report was discussed last week, Mrs. Isobel Forrester wanted it made clear in the preamble that Christians held widely different views on atomic war.

marchers criticised

"All these arguments in pamphlets like this," she said, "are gradually conditioning people away from the pacifist point of view."

Dr. Hugh Martin, who presided, replied: "The preamble states that there is no suggestion that the international department of the Council necessarily endorses the opinions expressed."

The meeting voted against Mrs. Forrester's suggestion.

The Conservative Daily Telegraph used the report as a basis for criticism of the Aldermaston marchers, and the Christian World said "the point of view set forth in this report is directly opposed to what we may call the Aldermaston point of view."

The Very Rev. Dr. George MacLeod's engagements have made it impossible for him to complete his review of the report for this week's Peace News.

Vicky to be heard

Evening Standard cartoonist Vicky is a member of "Any Questions" panel announced on page six.

A 25-year-old RAF corporal was reduced to the ranks recently because he refused to carry out work on an H-bomber after seeing a film of an anti-H-bomb march.

PEARL HARBOR: The myth of THE WAR TO SAVE THE NEW DEAL—II

By HARRY ELMER BARNES

This is the second of two articles by Harry Elmer Barnes about the events leading up to the Pearl Harbor attack in 1941.

NO item in the revisionist statements about the causes and merits of World War II is better established than the fact that no top authority in Washington on December 7, 1941, was surprised at either the time or the place of the Japanese attack on the American fleet at Pearl Harbor.

The only element of surprise, if any, was over the damage which the Japanese planes delivered to the Pacific fleet. The American Intelligence experts had broken the Japanese diplomatic code in August, 1940, and for more than a year had been reading all the Japanese secret messages. Among other things, this had enabled the Washington authorities to know that the Japanese peace efforts were sincere and not mere window-dressing for actually sinister designs of an aggressive nature.

First, as to prior knowledge of the place of attack. For years before Pearl Harbor, American naval manoeuvres in the Pacific had considered the possibility of a surprise Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, and in those of 1938 the aircraft carrier Saratoga had launched a successful attack on Pearl Harbor from a distance of about 100 miles.

Secret information

In January, 1941, the American Ambassador in Tokyo, Joseph Grew, informed Washington that he had received secret information to the effect that, if Japan was forced into war with the United States, it would start with a surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. Top Washington authorities discussed this information at the time and agreed that it was probably sound.

In April, 1941, it was decided that no decoding (Purple) machine would be sent to Pearl Harbor, a decision which would prevent the Pearl Harbor commanders, General Walter Short and Admiral Husband Kimmel, from having any possibility of intercepting Japanese messages

and learning for themselves of a possible Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

For some months prior to December 7, 1941, the Japanese Government in Tokyo had directed its spies in Hawaii to supply Tokyo with details about the nature, location and movements of the Pacific fleet stationed at Pearl Harbor and about other relevant matters connected with the American military establishment located there. On October 9, 1941, the Intelligence officers in the War Department decoded a message sent to the Japanese Consul-General in Honolulu on September 24, 1941, requesting detailed information about the disposition of the Pacific fleet in the Pearl Harbor base.

Japanese espionage

From this time onward, Washington could have had little doubt that the Japanese were planning a surprise attack on Pearl Harbor if negotiations failed.

When relations became tense after the fall of the Kono Cabinet, Tokyo ordered that the espionage reports on Pearl Harbor be sent at frequent intervals, and even this was stepped up after November 15. After November 26 constant reporting was ordered. No such reports were demanded of Japanese spies about any other American outpost or naval force anywhere in the whole Pacific area. All this was well known to the top Washington authorities, and it thoroughly proved that, if they made any surprise attack, the Japanese intended to launch it at Pearl Harbor.

On December 3, 1941, the Japanese Consul-General in Honolulu informed Tokyo that he had set up a "window code" near Pearl Harbor so that he could signal Japanese scouting submarines lying off Pearl Harbor as to any movements of the Pearl Harbor fleet, and the submarines could then pass on this information to the Japanese task force on its way to attack Pearl Harbor.

This message was intercepted and decoded by American Intelligence officials. It not only pointed exclusively to Pearl Harbor as the place of attack but revealed the fact that a Japanese task force was on its way to make the attack.

Kimmel not warned

This much is known from the intercepted Japanese messages that Washington had decoded and accumulated. Appearing on Dean Manion's Radio Programme on December 7, 1958, Admiral Kimmel provided startling additional information to the effect that British Intelligence agents in Japan had picked up secret information and passed it on to London by November 30 or December 1, revealing "the planned attack on Pearl Harbor to be launched on December 7, where the Japanese fleet would congregate to launch the planes, the hour the planes were to be launched, the berths of the United States fleet in Pearl Harbor, and which ships were to be bombed first." There is no reasonable doubt that London promptly passed on this information to President Roosevelt and that he possessed it by December 3 or 4 at the latest—very probably by December 2. If so, he had advance notice of the exact time and place of the attack from two to five days before it took place.

Yet, not the slightest iota of warning was sent to Short or Kimmel to enable them to make preparations to resist and defeat any such attack.

As Admiral Kimmel does well to point out, even if London did not send this information on to Roosevelt, all the essentials of the situation were already well known to him by or before December 4 from the contents of the Japanese messages which American Intelligence officers had intercepted. That Roosevelt did receive this material from London would seem apparent from the fact that his order that

no warning be sent to Short and Kimmel before noon on December 7 must have been issued some days before Dec. 7. Yet, the intercepted Japanese message making it clear that the attack on Pearl Harbor would take place at 1 p.m. Washington time was not available in Washington until the early morning of December 7.

Washington possessed just as thorough advance knowledge of the time of the impending Japanese attack—by the early morning of December 7 almost to the minute of the bombing. On November 26, 1941, the Intelligence officers in the Navy

planes had returned to their carriers, having destroyed or disabled the American fleet. Obviously, Short and Kimmel should have been warned by November 26, and the top Washington army and navy authorities fully realised this, but they must have been ordered by Roosevelt to take no steps which could in any way whatever frighten off a Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

In the light of the above information, it is certain that the top Washington authorities had ample advance knowledge of both the time and place of the Japanese surprise attack and could have warned Short and

"This article," the author tells Peace News, "embodies all the essentials that have appeared in all the books and all the articles on Pearl Harbor right down to this moment, and in preparing it I have made up-to-the-minute contacts with the chief authorities on the subject to get the latest possible data."

Department decoded a message sent by Tokyo to the Japanese Consul-General in Hong Kong on November 14, 1941, which stated that Japan would make war on the United States and Great Britain if the Japanese negotiations in Washington collapsed. It was fully realised by Washington that Hull's ultimatum would mean the breaking off of diplomatic relations and a Japanese declaration of war. Indeed, it was sent to produce this result. That it was to be successful was quickly known.

Since Japan usually started surprise attacks on a week-end, some Washington authorities thought that the attack on Pearl Harbor would be made on November 30. When it was not, there was even greater assurance that it would take place on December 7. Information as to the certainty and imminence of the attack piled up quickly after November 26. On November 28 intercepted messages revealed that the Japanese were about to break off diplomatic relations and resort to war unless Washington modified its stand.

On December 3 it was learned that the Japanese had ordered their main embassies, except in Washington, to destroy their code machines and documents, an action that invariably precedes the outbreak of war. On December 4 a vital intercepted message told that the war would be declared against the United States and Britain and not against Russia.

By mid-afternoon of December 6, what is known as the Japanese "pilot message" had been received, decoded, and distributed. This announced that a long Japanese reply to Hull's ultimatum was to be expected immediately, and it had been taken for granted ever since November 28 that this meant an immediate surprise attack by Japan the moment this reply was formally handed to Hull. By evening, all of the reply except the final point, which was to tell the time of delivery to Hull, had been received, decoded and distributed to the top Washington authorities or their representatives. Roosevelt received it personally and observed that war was at hand—not exactly news to him.

Deliberate delay

By around 5 a.m. on Dec. 7, the final 14th point had arrived and was quickly decoded and distributed. This revealed the fact that the reply would be formally handed to Hull at 1 p.m. Washington time. The Intelligence officers who decoded this material recognised at once that the Japanese would attack Pearl Harbor at 1 p.m. Washington time, or 7.30 a.m. Pearl Harbor time. They so informed the Washington authorities.

There would still have been ample time to send a warning to Kimmel and Short, but nothing whatever was sent until General Marshall sent a deliberately delayed message to Short some time after noon on December 7, and took pains to send it by slow commercial cable so that it could not possibly be delivered to Short until after the Japanese planes had attacked the fleet.

As a matter of fact, Short did not receive the message until after the Japanese

Kimmel, not only in time to repel any attack, but even in time to frighten off the Japanese task force without their making any attempt to attack. But no warning whatever was sent them until Marshall's deliberately delayed message on the early afternoon of December 7.

When about 9 a.m. of Dec. 7 Admiral Stark read the 14th point in the Japanese reply to Hull, which made it clear that the Japanese would attack at 1 p.m. Washington time that very afternoon, he exclaimed: "My God, this means war! I must get word to Kimmel at once." But he never made even an effort to do so, although he had ample facilities right on his desk for instantaneous communication with Kimmel. Stark never explained why he did not warn Kimmel, although the reason is obvious, namely, an order from Roosevelt to withhold all such information from Pearl Harbor.

Of course, Stark had known that war was right at hand by the mid-afternoon of Dec. 6, when the pilot message was delivered, but instead of remaining in his office through the night in the emergency and warning Kimmel, he closed up at about the usual time, went to a theatre in the evening, and talked with Roosevelt on the phone after he had returned home.

General Marshall's behaviour was even more extraordinary. After he had read the pilot message, which meant immediate war, he left his office in the mid-afternoon, disappeared for the night, and has since refused to tell where he was. He took a

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surprise attack

long horseback ride in Rock Creek Park on the next morning arriving leisurely at his office about 11.30, although he had known by 3 p.m. or a little earlier the previous afternoon that war could break out at any minute. His making certain that his warning message to Short early on the afternoon of Dec. 7 would not reach the latter until after the Japanese attack has already been pointed out.

Not only were Short and Kimmel left uninformed as to the vast amount of material available to Washington revealing the time and place of the Japanese attack; they were deliberately deprived and deceived. It has already been shown that they were arbitrarily deprived of a decoding machine when these were distributed in April, 1941, although machines were available for Panama and London. This was done so that Short and Kimmel could not intercept Japanese messages themselves and be able to prepare against any possible attack. Moreover, they were also deceived by Washington so that they would take no steps which would scare off the Japanese task force.

On November 27, 1941, the Navy Department sent Kimmel a message which said that there was a possibility that the Japanese would attack the Philippines, Thailand, the Kra Peninsula or Borneo, but there was not the most remote hint that they would attack Pearl Harbor. Further to convince Kimmel that there was no danger of an attack on Pearl Harbor, the Navy also ordered him to send the last carrier (Lexington) and 50 pursuit planes from Pearl Harbor to Wake and Midway, an order which would have been utterly idiotic if Kimmel was to imagine any prospect of an attack on Pearl Harbor.

Equally deceptive was the message that the Army sent Short on Nov. 27 ordering him to take steps to detect local Japanese

sabotage at Pearl Harbor but offering not the slightest suggestion that there would be any Japanese attack there. Short was ordered not to do anything which might alarm Japanese spies in Hawaii.

Therefore, there was a deliberate attempt by Washington to leave Short and Kimmel in a fool's paradise of false conceptions of the complete immunity of Pearl Harbor from any immediate Japanese attack, when Washington knew that one could come there at any moment. Short and Kimmel were not even informed that Hull had sent an ultimatum to Japan on Nov. 26. They received no information whatever bearing on a possible Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor between the deceptive messages on November 27 and Marshall's deliberately delayed message to Short on the early afternoon of Dec. 7.

It is quite clear that Washington took every precaution to make it certain that nothing would be done to discourage or deflect the Japanese plan for a surprise attack on Pearl Harbor.

The question that immediately arises is why Short and Kimmel were not sent the long available information which would have enabled them to prevent or defeat any attack on Pearl Harbor. The only possible explanations of why Marshall and Stark did not warn Short and Kimmel are that these men were traitors, were feeble-minded, or were ordered not to send any warning. It is obvious that this last possibility is the only credible explanation. It is equally apparent that only Roosevelt could have issued such an order and that his order was the only one which Marshall and Stark would have obeyed, since it ran counter to all their professional training, military stereotypes, strategic imperatives, and patriotic sense of duty.

As to just when it was decided to keep Short and Kimmel completely in the dark about the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, there is no absolute certainty, but something of the sort must have been in the air as early as April, 1941, when it was decided not to give them a decoding machine. Surely, rigorous orders must have been given by Roosevelt as early as November 26, when Hull sent his ultimatum to Japan. They were doubtless intensified as militant information increased and the deadline for the attack approached.

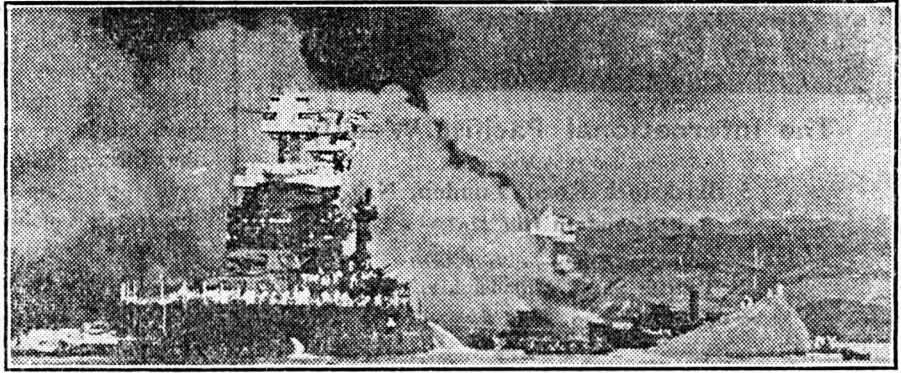
Roosevelt's motive

The question then comes up as to why Roosevelt was so insistent on a Japanese attack—and it had to be a surprise attack if made at all at Pearl Harbor. The answer is that he desperately needed an attack because of the Democratic campaign promises of 1940 which pledged him not to go to war unless attacked—a pledge which he had often repeated—and because an attack was the only sure way for him to rally the country enthusiastically around him in support of a war effort.

How far he was willing to go to get this needed attack is evident not only from the gamble he was willing to make relative to the destruction of the Pacific fleet and the loss of men involved, but also from the almost fantastic plan which he proposed to adopt in the South Pacific. We have seen how, in April, 1941, he had agreed to join the British and Dutch in a war against Japan if the latter merely crossed an arbitrarily set line in the South Pacific, even though the Japanese did not attack any American ships or territory.

But Roosevelt was determined that he would not take any chances in such a contingency, which would face him with a difficult combination of political and military problems. He would have his attack even in the South Pacific.

It seemed certain that the Japanese would attack Pearl Harbor, but in early December, 1941, Japanese forces were moving southward in considerable numbers, and they might cross this magic line in the South Pacific before a Japanese task force could reach Pearl Harbor. Hence, Roosevelt approved a plan to convert some small merchant vessels and a chartered yacht into bogus "men-of-war" and to send them out to decoy the Japanese into firing on the American flag. Filipino crews were to be used so as to avoid the slaughter of American sailors.



Admiral Nagumo's planes took heavy toll in Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941.

This provocative expedition was not actually dispatched, for by the time the decoy ships were ready to depart the Japanese had already attacked Pearl Harbor. There, not a few Filipino crewmen, but 3,300 American sailors, soldiers and marines lost their lives to lead Roosevelt successfully through the backdoor to war.

Stimson's plan

Secretary Stimson was not satisfied with this plan to decoy the Japanese into an attack. He proposed his own "Pearl Harbor," namely, a surprise attack by American planes on a Japanese task force as it passed the Philippines. Naturally, Roosevelt opposed this proposal. While it would have brought war surely enough, it would not have produced the indispensable prior Japanese attack. Stimson's plan would, of course, have eliminated any moral basis for an American charge of "infamy" against the Japanese for making their surprise attack on Pearl Harbor.

The final question which needs to be dealt with is why there was such need for absolute secrecy in Washington if there was to be any Japanese surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. Why could not Short and Kimmel have been warned and prepared and, hence, prevented the great destruction of ships and lives, and still have assured a Japanese attack on the fleet? This can be adequately answered just by ordinary common sense and logic, namely, that the Japanese task force would not have been likely to risk the losses they would have sustained by attacking an alerted Pearl Harbor. But common sense and logic have now been supplemented by ample historical facts, especially those assembled by Walter Lord in his book, "The Day of Infamy," which was not published until 1957.

Mr. Lord went to Japan and interviewed as many of the Japanese officers who took part in the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor as were then alive and available. He found that, if the Japanese task force had obtained any information that the Pearl Harbor commanders had been warned of the attack and were alerted for it, the task force would have turned back. Tokyo was in constant touch with the Japanese spies in Hawaii and with the task force.

Admiral Nagumo's fears

If Tokyo had received any convincing evidence that Short and Kimmel were prepared for an attack, the task force would have been ordered back. If, by Nov. 27, Short and Kimmel had been sent the information that Washington possessed on the previous day, they would have alerted for an attack, and this news would have been passed on to Tokyo by the Japanese spies in Hawaii. The attack would have been called off and the task force would have been back in the Kuriles or some other designated spot before Dec. 7.

Admiral Nagumo, who commanded the Japanese task force, had all too little confidence in the success of the proposed Japanese surprise attack when he took over the task force in the Kurile Islands, and he was very jittery right down to the time his planes returned to the carriers after the attack. He would not even let his planes leave the carriers on the morning of Dec. 7 until he had rather complete information that, as late as the early night of December 6, the Pacific fleet at Pearl Harbor had no knowledge of an impending attack and was in no way alerted against one. Even after the highly successful surprise attack on Dec. 7, the Japanese jitters prevented them from making a second attack the following day and taking over all Hawaii, which

would have been a vast advantage to the Japanese.

In the light of the fact that Roosevelt desperately needed a surprise Japanese attack to weld the country behind him, he and his secretaries and his generals and admirals acted with consummate skill and adroitness, if with very little honesty and moral integrity, in keeping Short and Kimmel entirely in the dark until after the Japanese planes had returned to their carriers following the successful attack.

Such is the story of Pearl Harbor. The essentials were clearly grasped a decade and a half ago by Sir Oliver Lyttelton, the British Minister of Supplies in World War II, when he declared on June 20, 1944: "America provoked Japan to such an extent that the Japanese were forced to attack Pearl Harbor. It is a travesty on history to say that America was forced into war." This may have been only a hunch with Lyttelton, but careful historical research has since documented his charge to the hilt.

Scapegoats blamed

How the guilty Washington authorities sought to cover up their responsibility for the successful Japanese surprise attack by saddling Short and Kimmel with the blame, by dismissing them from their commands, but refusing to give them a trial so that they might have an opportunity to clear themselves, by seeking to suppress or destroy vital evidence, by trying to intimidate honest witnesses, and by stacking the cards in some nine investigations of the Pearl Harbor attack, constitute a more shocking series of revelations than the facts set forth in this article. The story of all this is admirably told by a leading expert on the subject, Percy L. Greaves, in the seventh chapter of the book I edited, "Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace," which was so ably reviewed in these columns by Montgomery Belgium.

The persistence of the official mythology, either through ignorance or by deliberation, is well illustrated by the following Press report of remarks by President Eisenhower at his Press Conference on August 28, 1958: "Wars have a way of coming about in circumstances that have not been foreseen by humans. For example, the Pearl Harbor attack is a case in point. Of all the places in the Pacific that apparently the planners and political leaders thought might be attacked, that [Pearl Harbor] was probably the last one."

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See "In Perspective," page four.

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ROGATION

MAY 3 is Rogation Sunday, one of the four days in springtime when it is the custom of Christians to ask for God's blessing upon the seed which is being sown, and upon the harvest of the seas. In more modern times some churches also ask for a blessing upon industry. But it is not sufficient to sow the seed, nor, as one of the better known parables reminds us, is there any guarantee that it will bring forth fruit.



We know that to desire peace is not enough, especially when that desire is too often accompanied by an unwillingness to surrender claims which make peace impossible. It is the task of the Peace Pledge Union to sow the seeds of peace, beginning with the abandonment of any claim to find defence in armaments. Pacifists also want to understand more fully the social and economic implications of pacifism. We do not despair because some seed falls on unproductive soil, some is choked by specious propaganda, and some takes a long time to come to fruition. Much of the growth is hidden, but there is much to encourage us.

In any case, we can do no other than use every pacifist means to spread the essential truth and only solution of the world's problems.

This is where "Rogation" comes in. The seed in the shape of leaflets and posters has to be bought and all the machinery provided for harvesting as well as sowing. We cannot expect to enjoy the fruits without doing our share. We pay for what we need: we match the services of others by the service we render. I ask you to provide what is necessary for our common work, and I hope that at Rogationtide you will help by contributing to the Peace Pledge Union's Headquarters Fund.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Our aim for the year: £1,250.
Amount received to date: £354.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

PEACE NEWS

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DISENGAGEMENT

NEARLY everybody from Mr. Macmillan to Mr. Sydney Silverman now favours some form of "disengagement" in Central Europe. And there are good reasons why they should do so; the Russian fears of a remilitarised Western Germany; the tension that a great number of troops facing each other across the border of West and East Germany creates; the danger of arming troops in such a situation with nuclear weapons.

We should, however, be quite clear about the main assumptions that those who favour disengagement operate on. The first is that the way towards peace is through negotiation. It is only through the agreement of the two sides that we can make progress. The other main assumption is that there should be some guarantee against the failure of one side to keep to the agreement. And these guarantees are usually thought of in terms of force.

★ ★ ★

IF these are the assumptions underlying the idea of disengagement, we feel that pacifists should be very cautious in their approach to it. We have always argued that peace through negotiation in the context of a developing arms race was an illusion. The arms race was sufficient evidence that neither side trusted each other enough for there to be the possibility of successful negotiations.

History has been very much on our side when we have made this claim; the long protracted negotiations at Geneva on ending the testing of nuclear weapons is only the most recent indication of the unsoundness of attempts to get a negotiated peace.

An agreement that is backed by the threat of force puts pacifists in an equivocal position. If they support the agreement, they are to some extent giving their sanction to the use of force; in effect they are saying that while they think the agreement is a good thing, they themselves are not prepared to have any part in the operation of one of the central parts of the agreement, the guarantee in case of a breakdown.

★ ★ ★

WE have been worried by the number of pacifists who have uncritically supported disengagement as a policy. We are also worried, though less surprised, at the number of people in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament who have supported the policy.

We are worried because we have assumed that the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament was evidence of the fact that a great many people in this country felt that the H-bomb was the central political issue. But if disengagement is a serious possibility while everybody keeps their H-bombs, the importance of giving up the bomb is greatly reduced. The Campaign against it becomes only a vague and woolly "moral" protest. We have supported the Campaign because we felt that renunciation of the H-bomb by Britain would help to create the atmosphere for genuine negotiations, and so make disengagement a serious possibility.

★ ★ ★

THE pacifist insistence on unilateral action seems to us the only relevant political answer at the moment. We agree with the Prime Minister when he says that the only choice today is between the policy of the Government or pacifism (although we are aware that the Prime Minister was really trying to say that the only policy was the Government's since everybody knows that pacifism is impractical).

It is for this reason that pacifists must at all costs stress the importance of unilateral action. We very much hope that they will not be put off this by a concern for current ideas about disengagement.

From Dulles to Herter: End of a phase

THE transference of the functions of Mr. John Foster Dulles to Mr. Christian Herter marks the end of a phase. The decisions of Mr. Dulles during the six years that he has directed US foreign policy have been a major factor in the course followed by the Western alliance. The keynote of Mr. Dulles' policy was "negotiation from strength," and although the fact is suitably glossed over today, his period at the State Department has been marked by the complete collapse of this policy.

The claim that the West should negotiate only from strength was based upon the fact that in man-power and "conventional" weapons Russia was more powerful than the US and its allies. As the US had the A-bomb, however, and was held to be well in advance in the creation of the H-bomb and other nuclear weapons, it was assumed that these could be utilised to guarantee the status quo until the West could build up sufficient strength in conventional forces to take the initiative in securing the changes desired by the US and its allies.

In a double sense this policy did not work out. In the first place, the Western Powers found that they would be unable to match the strength in conventional forces of Russia and its allies. (It is now sought to compensate for this failure by the equipment of the NATO forces with "tactical" nuclear weapons.) In the second place, the assumptions as to the lead that the US would be able to maintain in the development of the H-bomb and other nuclear weapons have been strikingly falsified.

"Negotiation from strength" had to give place to the very dangerous conception of negotiation in the face of the balance of terror under the universal threat of the "deterrent." ("Brinkmanship")

"Negotiation from strength" is today completely outdated, but it has of course always been an impossibly lopsided view as to the way peace might be built. No peace can be achieved by one nation or group following a policy that is incapable of general adoption, and it is very evident that "negotiation from strength" is not a policy that all parties to a negotiation can follow.

NATO Hymn

WHEN you have something that you think is good you want to "push" it. This fact must be behind the dispatch of a "Ceremonial Hymn to the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation" to over 5,000 schools in Britain. The Hymn, which was recently published by the British Atlantic Committee, was sent out along with a "sales blurb" from NATO's "business manager," M. Spaak, who harps on the Organisation's peaceful purpose with the inevitable reference to deterrence thrown in for good measure.

The intention, or at least the hope, is that the Hymn will be sung by school children at prayers on May 4 when the tenth anniversary of NATO is to be celebrated.

There are certain intrinsic difficulties, however, connected with the selling of such "goods" as NATO. The most obvious of these is that the Organisation "defends" at the risk of maintaining the tension, and gambles with the imminent possible extinction of mankind in the process.

If this kind of "goods" is to sell at all, the article must be smartened up by hook or by crook to the point of positive inspiration, so that men will buy it at a rush and count the cost of the possible loss of their species as a small price.

The essential requirement then is a 100 per cent *bona fide* testimony as to quality, and to supply this, what better than the Almighty in person? The presence of such a One as this in the Hymn would be testimony indeed! In fact, He appears in its first line: "May God who rules. . ."

The Manchester Guardian which commented on the Hymn last week was permitted to do so by the British Atlantic Committee on the understanding that comment should be "only constructive criticism." So clearly the Hymn has already been reserved for success.

Its words, however, may not sustain this intention. The first verse, for example, urges the disappearance of fear and violence. This in the context of adulation of NATO, which exists to maintain the balance of terror, is tantamount to incitement to disaffection. In splendid contradiction to the sentiments of the first verse, the second hopes that NATO will "grow in might and put its foes to flight." The last verse promises of "the shape of peace to come" which will "spread across the skies." Will this, in the words of Konni Zilliacus, MP, in a letter to the Manchester Guardian last Monday, be a "mushroom-shaped cloud?"

It is doubtless hoped that school children will overlook these discrepancies, yet teachers may find them-

selves confronted with a ticklish problem if called upon for elucidation.

There is, of course, nothing new in the commendation of weapons and warriors to school children, but there is a case for vigilance at each new encroachment. Many schools have doubtless already consigned the Hymn to the wastepaper basket, but when and where it is learned that the Hymn is to be sung, the matter might be raised with the principal or the local education authority.

As another suggestion—the Peace Pledge Union has a number of suitable anti-war songs and there is also "Ban, ban, ban the H-bomb" (PN, May 16, 1958). In the hands of children such songs might well turn out to be school pops.

Middle East

IF international affairs were conducted with what is considered normal decency in dealings between individuals, a good layer of stage make-up would be needed to cover the embarrassment the main actors in Middle-Eastern politics would be feeling at present.

Three years ago King Hussein dismissed General Glubb, to whom he owed the reasonable efficiency of the army on which he has relied more than once to keep him on his throne. Last week he met him again at the Jordanian Embassy in London; and, being a statesman, without embarrassment.

Two years and three months ago, the then President of the Jordan House of Representatives called the subsidy offered jointly by Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Syria to replace the old British one, "a great victory in the continued struggle for liberation from any sign of foreign influence." Now King Hussein, echoing words used by Winston Churchill during the war, says "Give us the tools and we will do the job ourselves"—the job this time being "to fight the Reds."

When the Suez Canal trouble was at its height and for a long time after it, the then genuinely neutralist President Nasser of Egypt was abused as a pro-Communist by the "best people" in Britain. Now that his inability to swallow Iraq into the United Arab Republic has resulted in Iraq moving in self-defence closer to Moscow, and himself consequently moving further away from it, he could, but for one obstacle, be greeted by the West as the most powerful Middle-Eastern resistance fighter against Communism.

The obstacle lies in the unresolved trouble between him and King Hussein, for Jordan, too, was meant to be incorporated in the United Arab Republic. And as it is, has always been, and will always be the Arab country with least prospect of ever standing on its own legs, its return to the Western fold is not an unmixed blessing.

It sharpens the old problem of trying to find a solution for the inevitable antagonism between King Hussein's wish to survive as the sovereign of an independent country (with a none too popular régime) and President Nasser's unreasonable as well as his reasonable ambitions.

Pearl Harbor

THE formidable array of facts brought together by the distinguished American historian, Professor Harry Elmer Barnes, in the second of two articles which we publish this week, makes it clear that the attitude of the US Government to the events at Pearl Harbor was—as in so much else in war—sordid and disreputable. The British intention to occupy Norway if the Germans had not got there first was another instance.

As a historian Professor Barnes has kept closely to a study of the worsening US-Japanese relationship in the pre-war years. It should be kept in mind, however, that Japan's attack on China in 1937 was a piece of wanton aggression, providing, with other imperialist and military policies, considerable moral justification for US, and indeed world, antagonism.

We hope that the new Japan may have changed and become much less a militaristic power than it was. Should this hope be disappointed it will be largely as a result of US pressure for its re-militarisation.

The way in which the US administration was willing to connive at the betrayal of some of its own forces at Pearl Harbor in order to consolidate public opinion is base and distressing. But it is part of the moral filth of warfare that accompanies every armed struggle.

IN PERSPECTIVE

Africa Day in a Police State

PLAN TO BOYCOTT GOODS IN S. AFRICA

By Basil Delaine

Johannesburg.

WITH the best will in the world it takes some doing to celebrate with a pack of hostile policemen almost round your neck, and the threat of a beating up and a night in jail staring you in the face.

That was the grim situation facing the non-white people of South Africa when they played their part last week in the Africa Day celebrations, during which calls by African leaders for non-violence in the struggle for freedom were made repeatedly.

But despite all the unpleasant trimmings that go with a Police State, the people sang, danced and attended meetings with their usual uninhibited enthusiasm.

No political meeting today in the Union of South Africa is complete without its squad of Special Branch men, or "Big Brothers" as some sophisticated Africans call them.

So closely were the Africa Day celebrations watched here that on several occasions the presence of the police—some of the uniformed men were armed with steno guns—nearly touched off disturbances.

At a mass meeting at the Dynamo Club, Johannesburg, some people in the packed hall objected to the presence of African members of the Security Branch, some of whom wore "Africa Day" badges in their lapels.

"Throw them out!" was the cry.

But chairman Oliver Tembo, Deputy President of the African National Congress, used tact, and a touch of dry humour.

"Let them stay," he urged. "We will achieve freedom whether they are here or not!"

Photos of audience

At the same meeting a message was read from the shrewd, responsible Tanganyikan leader, Julius Nyerere. It advised: "Don't ever resort to violence. It is unwise now and it will be unnecessary in the future."

At an open-air meeting in Alexandra township, Johannesburg, white men and women among the audience were photographed by the Special Branch and one man was asked his name and address.

It was at this meeting that for the first time in a South African township, the Pan-African Freedom call "Uhuru!" was heard.

Many of the crowd wore tribal or semi-tribal dress. So did some of their leaders. They adopted for the first time the traditional mode of the big-wigs in Ghana and Nigeria.

"The torch of freedom shines over the

entire face of the continent of Africa," said a dignified-looking speaker wearing a Basuto blanket and a tribal hat.

"The great stampede to independence has started and can never be halted."

A white man, Jack Unterhalter, Transvaal President of the Liberal Party, said, amid cheers: "Our presence here today is a demonstration of our solidarity with you in your struggle. We believe in you and do not believe you would abuse your position if in power."

A Methodist minister, the Rev. D. C. Thompson, a Treason Trialist, told the crowd: "If Christ were here today he would identify himself with the non-whites of South Africa."

In Cape Town, Peace News writer Patrick Duncan, a former South African Governor-General's son and friend of Alan Paton, told a large audience: "In two years there will be 16 independent States in Africa. In

10 years all African States will be free."

Special Branch men wrote furiously at Duncan's meeting.

Back in Johannesburg a float depicting the African continent, and hundreds of "Africa Day" pamphlets, were seized by the police. Several Africans were arrested.

The biggest news to emerge from Africa Day celebrations in South Africa, came from Durban, Natal.

There, both the Indian and African Congresses announced a plan for a nationwide boycott—to be launched on June 26—of all commodities manufactured by firms who support the Nationalist Party Government.

Mr. Ronald Segal, editor of the magazine "Africa South," who has himself urged university students in Cape Town to support the boycott, writes in an editorial:

"The boycotters require of the boycotted only that they should publicly condemn the cruel corrosive insanity of apartheid, and use their influence and resources to help create a just, shared society in South Africa."

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THE ban on the right of small parties from stating their case on the BBC and television is something that all true democrats will oppose.

This undemocratic ban has been imposed by the BBC, backed, unfortunately, by the "Big" parties.

A most significant case to point out is the one of the Plaid Cymru, an organisation that I have only the deepest respect for, where it is not permitted to state the case for a Welsh Government.

The Welsh Nationalists cannot at the best contest over thirty-six seats, for that is all the seats they have in Wales, yet a party must have 50 candidates in the field before it is allowed to use the BBC and maybe the television.

Every party, every organisation, should have the right to put forward its case regardless of Left or Right leanings.

If any reader feels as I do on this issue and would like to form a League for Democratic Liberty with the aim of pressing for freedom for all minorities would they please contact me.—DAVID WARBURTON, c/o 4 Carlton Walk, Saltaire, Yorks.

Votes and the bomb

MAY I cut through the invective that is hurled at those of us who have made it clear we will not vote for H-bombing Labour candidates (and believe me we won't) to ask the question to which, up to now, I have been able to get no answer.

What are the 80 per cent of the Labour constituency Parties which are stated to support nuclear disarmament doing about adopting candidates who will make a plain stand on this issue? (The figure of 80 per cent was that given by Benn Levy at Chelsea recently, when he also said that any party which had the nous to adopt nuclear disarmament would sweep the country.)

Two things are very plain to me. One is that if the Labour people who claim to support nuclear disarmament, instead of slanging us for refusing to accept H-bombing candidates, were to stand with us, the campaign would be won right now. It is no use thinking of starting a real campaign after a nuclear war has started.

The second point concerns the fear of "letting the wicked Tories in." Such an attitude shows a complete lack of understanding of the situation. It is by using this bogey that the Labour Executive are getting away with murder, and H-bomb murder at that.

I repeat: What are these Labour consti-

tuency Parties which support nuclear disarmament doing about adopting trustworthy nuclear disarmament candidates?—L. PHILLIPS, 31 Gorst Rd., S.W.11.

World Peace Council

From Professor J. D. Bernal, FRS.

PHYZZ's comment on my letter in your issue about the co-operation of peace movements who take different attitudes towards their governments. It seems to imply that the criterion of genuineness of a peace movement is not only that it opposes the policy of its own government but that it will associate only with other movements who also oppose their governments.

Now this may be a perfectly tenable position for associations of conscientious pacifists who oppose all militarism, for as all governments maintain armed forces they must protest against them. However, in recent times some pacifist organisations have accepted the fact that there may be people genuinely wanting peace who do not go that far and who only strive to abolish nuclear weapons, reduce armaments, and to secure peace by negotiation. Such people judge their government's policy by the degree to which it is striving to obtain these ends.

Now these policies have been for a long time those of the Soviet Government, so that the Soviet Peace Committee, which is not a purely pacifist body, is not called upon to oppose it. It has, however, urged the Supreme Soviet to take action on the suppression of nuclear tests and, after the failure of the unilateral abandoning of these tests, the Committee is campaigning strongly for the success of the Geneva atom test conference.

Peace workers in this country will have the opportunity of finding out the views of the Soviet Peace Committee and impressing their own on them when their return delegation visits this country in June.

Now, until very recently, it has appeared to many people here, pacifists and non-pacifists, that the British Government is not pursuing these aims, hence the activities that culminated in the Aldermaston march. However, many peace organisations have not taken such a consistently critical view of government policy, notably the National Peace Council and the United Nations Association, and yet the genuineness and sincerity of these organisations are not challenged.

If there has not been much criticism of Soviet policy at World Peace Congresses—for there has been some—it is because those coming to them have been broadly in favour of these policies. However, the absence of sharp criticism has not been the fault of the organisers. There have been repeated invitations to known critics to participate, and they have been assured of a hearing. However, for the most part they have preferred to stay away and thus lose the chance of understanding and influencing peace lovers from all parts of the world.

We in the British Peace Committee and

PEACE NEWS, May 1, 1959—5

H-bomb protest inspires BBC play

Peace News Reporter

THE attempt by Harold Steele to reach Christmas Island in a dramatic bid to stop Britain's H-bomb tests in 1957 provided the inspiration for a new radio play which is to be broadcast on Monday, the author of the play, David Lytton told Peace News on Tuesday.

"The Voyage of the Wanti See" is to be broadcast on May 4 at 9.15 p.m. on the BBC's Home Service.

The large mail which David Lytton received following the broadcasting of an earlier play dealing with an atomic scientist's moral dilemma, "A Death to Choose," encouraged him to write the new play, which is based on the kind of voyage which Reginald Reynolds, Harold Steele and the members of the Emergency Committee for Direct Action against Nuclear War attempted to organise.

The Japanese crew of the Wanti See have as their passengers two elderly English ladies and an Englishman, a Nigerian priest, an American couple, and a Japanese doctor who had survived the atomic bombing of Nagasaki.

World Council of Peace do not wish to stress the differences between peace organisations, but rather to find how they can combine in activities for a common cause.—J. D. BERNAL, 21 Torrington Square, London, W.C.1.

Capital Punishment in USA

IN my article on "Capital Punishment in the USA Today" I mis-stated that Michigan abolished the death penalty in 1847. The correct date is 1846. It was in that year the state legislature ended capital punishment. It was also incorporated into the constitution of 1847, thus that date. The 1847 date is listed in the Royal Commission Report and other sources, but incorrectly. An abolition bill failed in the New Jersey Assembly by a single vote. An abolition Bill has passed the lower house in Iowa. The Ohio Bill failed to get out of committee in the legislature.

In hearings before the Massachusetts Commission the police chief of Providence, Rhode Island, expressed the view that a majority of police chiefs in that state (with no capital punishment) oppose the death penalty. The President of the Rhode Island Police Chiefs Association is also an opponent of the death penalty and was so recorded at the hearings. The admission of Hawaii to the Union brings the number of abolition states now up to nine. Hawaii abolished the death penalty completely in 1957.—CHARLES C. WALKER, Cheyney, Pa., USA.

TOM KEELL WOLFE

has moved his naturopathic practice and his home to 90 Bath Road, Cheltenham. (Tel. 3209)

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THIS DISCREET RETICENCE

AS a bearded supporter of the triumphant Fidel Castro pointed out in reply to American protests in the name of humanity against the Nero-like trials of Batista officials, it was an American President who first hit on the idea of "unconditional surrender" and death for "war criminals," that is to say for persons on the losing side.

Fidel Castro has but followed the course set by Roosevelt, a course which F. J. P. Veale analysed and condemned in his early post-war classic, "Advance to Barbarism," a scholarly work praised by many far-sighted contemporaries with such widely different views as Dorothy Thompson and General Wedermeyer, George Morgenstern and Captain Liddell Hart, Dean Inge and Norman Thomas, a work translated into several languages but dismissed with resentful silence by the British Press.

"Crimes Discreetly Veiled" is a sequel, dealing with five examples of cases in which the accusers of a prisoner appoint themselves to act as judges of their own charges, a procedure which, as Lord Hankey points out in a brilliant foreword, received almost unanimous acceptance in the highest legal circles when first put forward at the termination of World War II. That in retrospect the outcome appears unsatisfactory is indicated by the silence of professional historians on the subject. The facts of these cases are in this book for the first time published and examined.

The first case dealt with is that of the Katyn Forest Massacre which for a dozen years was consigned to oblivion in the Orwellian "memory hole" as conflicting with the benevolent "Marshal" Stalin Myth created in June, 1941, when the Dictator of Berchtesgaden decided to turn his tanks and Stukas against his fellow conspirator against world peace, the Dictator of the Red Square. Although the facts of this appalling crime were established beyond question by a neutral committee within 12 months of its commission, the truth was not officially recognised until Stalin's successor, Khrushchov, repudiated this myth in his famous speech to the 20th

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Professor Thomas Callander reviews

Crimes Discreetly Veiled, by F. J. P. Veale. Cooper Publishing Co., 293 Gray's Inn Road, London. 15s.

Congress of the Communist Party in Moscow on February 20, 1956.

Another crime consigned to the Orwellian "memory hole" on the ground of expediency is the murder of Mussolini and Claretta Petacci on the shores of Lake Como in 1945. Fourteen years after this crime the practice is still followed of referring to it as an execution, a word implying that they were put to death following a trial and a conviction by some court of law. Yet it is of course indisputable that no trial of any kind took place: this double murder was carried out on the initiative of a group of local Communists, and in the case of Claretta Petacci the sole purpose of the crime was to silence a witness who, if she had been allowed to live, could have disclosed the truth concerning the robbery of the Dongo Treasure.

The strange fate of General Ramcke, the Defender of Brest, otherwise the Hangman of Brest, is examined at length. It illustrates the novel practice adopted by the victorious Powers in 1945 of swopping distinguished prisoners of war and treating

them as convicted criminals during the process.

The conviction of Admiral Raeder at Nuremberg is noteworthy not because he was condemned by his captors trying their own charges against him—a characteristic of all war trials—but because to convict him the tribunal had to repudiate one of the principles which it had itself laid down. The chapter describing this trial is a masterpiece of restrained irony and may well survive as such long after the rest of the book is forgotten. The personal good faith and integrity of the tribunal is repeatedly stressed, but at the same time the view of one member of the tribunal concerning its duty is blandly quoted—"The object of this trial is the punishment of criminals as already decided at the Yalta Conference by the heads of state. There is no question here that the judge has the character of an impartial person."

Surprise has often been expressed that Dr. Marcel Petiot has been denied the sinister fame to which his deeds entitle him. In this book the explanation put forward is that it has been found impos-

sible to describe his crimes in Paris during the last years of the occupation without reference to the conditions then existing which alone made these crimes possible, and these conditions cannot by any suppression or distortion of facts be made to harmonise with the generally accepted story of the Liberation.

The most striking example of a case which has been banned from mention, much less investigation, is that of Walter Reder, a German major still entombed 14 years after the war in a mediaeval Italian castle. The offence for which he has been condemned by his captors to life imprisonment is, so they allege, that he dealt with a certain band of Communist partisans by the same summary methods as have since been employed by the Americans in Korea and are at the present being used by the French in Algeria. And whether these summary methods are justifiable or not, Major Reder adopted them in accordance with the orders of his superiors, Field Marshal Kesselring and General Max Simon, both of whom have long been set at liberty.

This modern variation of the Dreyfus scandal of 60 years ago still awaits rectification through pressure of world public opinion.

TOWARDS A PEACEFUL SOCIETY—IV A SMALLHOLDER'S REPLY TO TOLSTOI

By Margaret Tims

"HOW much land does a man need?" asked Tolstoi.

"As much as he can till and tend with his own labour," answers Stanley Keeble, who works a 20-acre holding single-handed near Truro in Cornwall.

As much—and no more. For it is part of the philosophy of this Quaker farmer that his prosperity should not be extracted from other men's land or labour. He has no ambition to expand his 20 acres to 200, and then 2,000. "My aim will be achieved," he says, "when my land, stock and buildings are at a peak of fitness and efficiency and afford me a good living by modern standards in return for a reasonable day's work."

SOCIAL VALUE

He believes that the small farm has an economic and social value that is well worth maintaining. He would claim, indeed, that the small-holding is more efficient in production per acre than the large farm. About 40 per cent of agricultural holdings in England are under 20 acres, but they are not supported by government subsidies. And yet it is surely essential, he argues, in view of Britain's diminishing command of world markets, to reduce our dependence on food imports and to make the best possible use of all available land. The struggle for world markets has also been one of the root causes of war.

In a world where two-thirds of the rapidly increasing population is underfed, Stanley Keeble regards his 20 acres of fertile English soil as a very fair share of

the total cultivable land. He says: "If a nearby 200-acre farm could produce in wages and profit the same amount per acre it would mean three or four employed men getting about £7 10s. a week and one man getting £50 or £60 for himself." In fact, most large farms do not make this rate of income; but even if they did, he suggests that this is neither a healthy nor a Christian system. He cites the example of Danish efficiency in small farming co-operatives as a challenge to the British small farmer.

When he speaks of maintaining a "family" on 20 acres, Stanley Keeble knows what he is talking about, since he and his wife have seven children, five of whom are still living on the holding. They have brought up their fine-looking family on an average income, over the past ten years, of £8 a week; and in that period £1,000 was paid out in school fees! No wonder that, as he says, there has been no money for modern "amenities" such as a television set or a car; but there have been more fundamental satisfactions in a happy, healthy life with all members of the family sharing the life of the farm.

RADICAL PACIFIST

By now the income has risen to £12, and he is confident that in time, at full efficiency, the 20 acres will yield £20 a week. He has found by experience that a one-man farm cannot be too diversified, and to spend labour on such sidelines as market-gardening and poultry is unprofitable. He now concentrates on a small herd of attested Guernsey cows and five breeding sows. The most economic power-unit he has found to be a horse. He uses practically no artificial fertilisers and reduces the cost of feeding-stuffs by producing as much as possible from the land.

With his record of achievement it might be supposed that Stanley Keeble has farming bred in the bone. On the contrary, both he and his wife are townspeople, he coming from London and she from Birmingham. Before taking his present holding in 1946 he had only two years previous experience of farm work. When he lived in a town, he says, he would almost have had to send for the plumber to put on a washer. Now he has put up a two-storey building providing extra storage and pigeries, installed electricity and a water system, as well as draining and clearing overgrown land. It is here that the social value of the small farm is evident in its challenge to character and ingenuity.

Stanley Keeble is a pacifist in the radical tradition of Keir Hardie, echoing his scorn

of conscription as "the badge of the slave." He worked for the No More War movement in Birmingham in the 1930s. During the war he took up an absolutist position and refused to register for military service, with the result that he was sacked from his job with Dr. Barnardo's home at Stepney.

SIX-MONTHS SENTENCE

He continued to do various kinds of social work, and after serving a six-months prison sentence he was left alone by the authorities. He believes strongly that the pacifists of the World War II who accepted alternative service let down the pioneer COs of World War I in their fight against conscription: instead of carrying the fight to the next stage, they made conscription workable. He points out that conscription has lasted 14 years after the war and has come to be accepted as a normal process in a young man's life, like school or university.

In his chosen way, Stanley Keeble is seeking a fuller and healthier life than is offered to the average worker in the great conurbations. He believes it to be important that a man's daily work should be both enjoyable and worthwhile, and that all should strive to contribute more to life than they take from it. To establish a peaceful world it is necessary, he suggests, not only to change the whole system of values on which the programmes of the political parties are based today, but also to practise and live by those higher values to which some of us already pay lip-service.

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DIARY

1. Send notices to arrive first post Mon.
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Friday, May 1

MANCHESTER: 7.30 p.m. Free Trade Hall. Mass Meeting Against Nuclear War. Bertrand Russell, Rev. Michael Scott, Prof. Rotblat, Prof. Antoinette Pirie, Frank Allaun, MP, Harry Knight. Chair, Lord Simon of Wythenshawe. CND.

LONDON, N.S: Steenoven House, 16 Aberdeen Road. 8 p.m. Dr. A. D. Belden. Service of Prayer for Peace, followed by social. Brotherhood of the Way.

LONDON, W.8: 10.30 a.m. and 1.15 p.m. Town Hall, High St., Kensington. Local Tribunal for COs, public admitted.

LEICESTER: 7.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Queens Rd. Public Meeting. "Workcamps, 1959." Leslie Renwick, Leicester IVS.

Saturday, May 2

GLASGOW: 2.30 p.m. assemble Clarendon St. (off Sauchiehall St.) Protest March. 4 p.m. Final Rally, Kelvin Grove Park. Rev. Clifford Macquaire, Dr. A. B. Hart, Glasgow Council CND.

Saturday-Sunday, May 2-3

KESWICK: Lyzick Hall, Lakeland Area PPU Week-end Conference. Speaker, J. Allen Skinner. "Pacifism and Politics." Sec., Wm. Hawkins, Dale House, Ireby-in-Lonsdale, Carnforth.

Monday, May 4

LONDON, S.W.1: 10.30 a.m. and 2.15 p.m. Ebury Bridge House, Ebury Bridge Rd. Appellate Tribunal for COs. Public admitted.

Tuesday, May 5

BRIGHTON: 7.30 p.m. 25 Vernon Terrace, Seven Dials. Discussion on Pacifism and Nuclear Disarmament and Report on Bristol AGM. PPU.

LONDON, S.W.1: 7.30 p.m. Caxton Hall, Public Meeting. "Is Peace Possible." Vicky, James Cameron, Kathleen Lonsdale, Stuart Morris, Sybil Morrison. PPU.

ROMFORD: 7.45 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Victoria Road. D. Martin-Dakin will speak on H-Bomb. PPU.

Wednesday, May 6

BRISTOL: 7 p.m. 9 Cossins Road, off Coldharbour, Redland. "Focus on Berlin." Will Parkin. PPU Central and Sea Mills Group.

LONDON, S.W.4: 7.45 p.m. 27 Clapham Park Road. General Meeting to hear report of PPU AGM delegates. Clapham and District PPU.

ST. LEONARDS-ON-SEA: 7 p.m. 78a Norman Road. Delegate's report of AGM. Discussion. PPU.

Thursday, May 7

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Bush Rd. Group Meeting—Alan Lovell (Asst. Editor of Peace News). PPU.

Friday, May 8

HULL: 7.45 p.m. Co-operative Institute. Public Meeting. Speaker: Rev. Dr. Donald Soper. Film "March to Aldermaston."

TUNBRIDGE WELLS: 7 p.m. "Rosebank," Church Road, Southborough Common. Special Meeting for members and interested friends for the re-forming of local group PPU.

Saturday, May 9

WETHERSFIELD: 9.30 a.m. Braintree Market Place. Protest March to USAF Air Base on Open Day. 2.30-5.30 p.m. Vigil at Wethersfield, Essex Area CND.

Monday, May 10

For details of the London public meeting "Modern War Challenges Christians" which was sent to us in error under this date in last week's PN, see Monday, May 25.

Thursday, May 21

PALMERS GREEN: 8 p.m. 33 Devonshire Road, N.13. Speaker: Leonard Tomkinson, "China." PPU.

Monday, May 25

LONDON: 7.30 p.m. Royal Albert Hall. Public Meeting. "Modern War—a Challenge to Christians." Canon John Collins, Victor Gollancz, Dr. Gruber, Prof. Hromadka, Dame Kathleen Lonsdale, Rev. Mervyn Stockwood, Jill Balcon, John Neville. Friends Peace Committee and Christian Action.

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TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1.2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

LONDON, N.4: 7 p.m. Peace News Office, 3 Blackstock Rd. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

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Stepping stone to unity

By FENNER BROCKWAY MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom



THE French Community, linking France with the territories of the old French Empire, came into formal existence this month. I had begun to write of the Community as the French counterpart to the Commonwealth, but that would not be true. The Members of the Commonwealth are independent nations. The overseas territories of the Community possess at the best only internal self-government.

Nevertheless, the Community represents progress. It was established by referendum in the different territories: the people could choose between independence (without economic aid) or association with the Community. Only the Republic of Guinea had the courage to decide for independence.

The vast expanse of French West and Equatorial Africa, stretching from Algeria to the Belgian Congo, and from the Atlantic to Sudan; French Somalia on the East Coast of Africa; the large island of Madagascar (as spacious as France, Belgium and Holland combined) lying to the south east of Africa; Guiana in the American continent; and half-a-dozen small islands scattered about the oceans, form this far-flung grouping. Even Algeria is an unwilling member.

I—Part of France

The pattern for all the territories is not the same. Six of them, including Algeria and the Sahara are still regarded as part of France itself. Three of these are islands: Martinique and Guadeloupe in the West Indies, and Reunion in the Indian Ocean. The fifth is French Guiana.

This arrangement cannot be more than temporary. The Algerians are resisting incorporation with France by force of arms and their country must eventually become part of a federation of North African Arab States.

The Sahara is Africa, not Europe, however useful it may be to France for nuclear tests and, potentially, for oil and minerals.

Martinique and Guadeloupe will in time move towards a Caribbean Federation, and tiny Reunion will become linked with Madagascar and Mauritius.

These changes will involve ending the imperial associations of the past and establishing a world plan of economic co-operation; but in time they will come.

II—French dependencies

The second group within the French Community consists of five territories which have elected to remain administered by France. They include French Somalia (which will certainly desire union with Italian Somalia and British Somaliland when the former becomes independent in 1960), three groups of Pacific islands, New Caledonia, the Comores, and Polynesia, and the isolated islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon off Newfoundland.

In New Caledonia there is already a strong demand for self-government. The other islands will sooner or later become federated with neighbouring territories.

III—Internal self-government

The third pattern within the French Community is the most significant. It is composed of Madagascar and the eleven Republics in West and Equatorial Africa.

The territories have accepted the Community's control of foreign policy and defence, a common economic and financial policy, and supervision of justice and higher education. Their Prime Ministers belong with French Ministers to the Executive Council of the Community in Paris and sit with French Parliamentarians in the Community's Senate. They retain all the French attributes: the language, the currency, the tricolour flag, and the Marseillaise as their national anthem.

But their adherence is to the Community rather than to France. In other words, whilst at present they accept the defence and foreign policy of France, as they become stronger these overseas territories will be

able to determine their policy as a Community, and not necessarily by dictation from Paris. This will be equally true of their economic, educational and juridical systems.

This is a big step towards the recognition of the self-reliant nationhood of these twelve territories, but again it is doubtful how enduring the association will be.

A number of the West and Equatorial States would probably have decided, with the Republic of Guinea, for independence if they had not feared the consequences of the withdrawal of French economic and technical aid. The tide of sentiment is on the side of union with Africa rather than with Europe and France.

Separate states or federation

This sentiment for African unity is already expressing itself in a vigorous political controversy within the French Community. It revolves round the issue whether the eleven States in West and Equatorial Africa shall be separate Members of the French Community or shall be Members as Federations.

The leaders of this conflict used to be M. Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast, who is pro-French and always a member of the French Government whatever its complexion, and M. Sekou Touré, who is now only an outside influence (though a very powerful one) since he led Guinea to independence.

The pro-African federalist leaders are now the Socialist poet-philosopher, M. Leopold Senghor, of the Senegal, and M. Modibo Keita, of the French Sudan.

Senghor and Keita negotiated a federation between their States and Dahomey and Volta, but the latter have withdrawn under pressure from France and the economic pressure of M. Houphouet-Boigny's rich Ivory Coast. Senegal and Sudan have gone ahead on their own, forming the Federation of Mali.

The French are scared that Mali will become a step towards African statehood outside the Community. This fear is strengthened by the formation of a new Federalist Party to operate over the frontiers of the separate States.

The tendency towards independent federations is growing in Equatorial Africa as well as in the West. It has suffered a blow by the death in the recent plane accident of M. Boganda, the Prime Minister of the Central African Republic, who wanted a United States of Latin Africa, extending to the northern area of Belgian Congo.

The Prime Minister of French Congo, M. Youlou Fulbert, wants to re-establish the ancient kingdom of Loangu, which would cut across present imperial frontiers and include the Bakongo tribe in the lower Belgian Congo and Portuguese Angola. This project has the support of the powerful ABAKO leader in Belgian Congo, M. Kasavuba, imprisoned during the January revolt in Leopoldville.

These pressures towards wider federal unities are resisted by tribal and political feuds, which tragically led recently to 120 deaths in the French Congo, and by religious differences between Christians and Moslems, partly responsible for Volta's withdrawal from the Mali Federation.

African unity grows

But African unity steadily becomes stronger than tribal or sectarian disunity. As the years pass, it will certainly become stronger than unity with Europe.

So we can see the French Community as an advance from the French Union, the older form of French Imperialism, but still only a stepping stone. France, Britain, Belgium, Portugal and Spain will in due course have to make way for independent regional African Federations and, finally, for the United States of Africa.

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MEETINGS

MODERN WAR—A CHALLENGE TO CHRISTIANS. Public Meeting, May 25, at 7.30 p.m. at ROYAL ALBERT HALL. Speakers include Canon Collins (Chairman), Victor Gollancz, Dr. Gruber, Prof. Hromadka, Dame K. Lonsdale, Revd. Mervyn Stockwood, Jill Balcon and John Neville. Tickets 2s. 6d. res., 1s. unres., from the Hall or Christian Action, 2 Amen Ct., E.C.4 (CIT 6869). Friends Peace Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, N.W.1. (EUSTON 3601.)

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS. Sunday Evening Meeting, May 3, at 6.30 p.m. "Peace of Mind." Speaker: Alfred Torrie, at Friends House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

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WIMBLEDON DEBATES PEACE NEWS

A VIGOROUS protest against a decision not to display Peace News in the Public Library reading room was made by the minority Labour group on the Wimbledon (S.W. London) Council when it met last week.

Labour spokesman Councillor Gibson, rising to ask that the decision be reversed, said that the paper stood for non-violence and pacifism and against nuclear weapons.

Councillor Holmes said that it was a grave injustice to the residents in the borough to refuse to have the paper displayed. Alderman Thurlow declared "The people of Wimbledon want to read Peace News. What are we afraid of?"

When a councillor suggested that the decision had been taken by the Committee because the Librarian had advised them that the paper was a Communist journal there was an uproar in the Council Chamber and a speaker from the Conservative benches urged that the Council meet *in camera*.

TO PICKET LIBRARY

After the Mayor had intervened, the discussion continued and the Chairman of the Libraries' Committee, Alderman Corbishley, said that he must accept the Councillor's statement that, if the allegations of the paper being Communist had not been made, "the Libraries' Committee might have voted differently." All the Labour Councillors voted for reversing the decision but were overwhelmed by the majority party.

Representatives of the Wimbledon Peace Pledge Union group and of the local Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament were present in the public gallery, with the Editor of Peace News, during the discussion.

The PPU group and the local Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament are to picket the Library this Saturday, May 2, from the time it opens at 9 a.m. till it closes at 8 p.m., carrying Peace News' posters, selling copies of the paper, and giving away leaflets. Those wishing to take part in the demonstration should write or telephone Charles Skilton, Secretary of Wimbledon Peace Pledge Union, 31 Parkwood Road, S.W.19. (Tel.: Wimbledon 1009.)

THE word "pacifism," which, during the last war was constantly used as though it were synonymous with Fascism, and after the war with Communism, is now treated by some of the national Press as a respectable word, and by others as denoting something reprehensible and irresponsible.

The Observer, on the occasion of the publication of the British Council of Churches pamphlet, recognises the existence of pacifists, but seems to imply that all pacifists must necessarily be Christians. In fact, though many pacifists are Christians, there are also Jews and Buddhists, agnostics and atheists, who accept the full pacifist position.

It is unlikely that Christian pacifists will find themselves unexpectedly disillusioned by the recent report issued by the British Council of Churches, since they have for too long faced the fact that the Churches of Christendom have not officially repudiated the method of war.

This pamphlet is to be reviewed in PN by one more competent than myself to make a judgment, and it is not my purpose here to examine the document. The significance of it lies in the publicity the Press has given to the dilemma in which the

Mass youth march to White House

END SEGREGATION SAY 26,500

From JIM PECK

WHEN the 10,000 young people assembled at Lincoln Memorial last October 25 in the first Youth March for Integrated Schools heard that their delegation to the President had been stopped at the White House gate, they pledged to return to the nation's capital in even greater numbers.

That pledge was more than fulfilled on April 18 with a turnout of 26,500 for the second Youth March.

Many more sections of the country, including the deep south, were represented. One bus came all the way from Montgomery, scene of the memorable, year-long boycott which ended bus segregation; another from Shreveport; another from Atlanta. Several buses arrived from adjacent Virginia where school integration has started following the collapse of Governor Almond's "massive resistance."

President's deputy

This time the Youth March delegation got beyond the White House gate. They were received by the President's deputy assistant, Gerald Morgan. A presidential appointment had been made in advance but until as late as the previous day, White House officials declined to say whether the President, himself, would meet with the delegation. But, come the day, it turned out that the President was playing golf in Augusta.

Next time—and the young people voted to return again in still greater numbers—they will insist on talking to the President, personally. To his deputy assistant, the delegation presented a plea that President Eisenhower call a nation-wide conference of young people to discuss means of implementing the Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation.

Black and White together

The sight of 26,500 white and Negro students of all ages walking from the Mall and Seventh Street to the Sylvan Theater, scene of the rally, was impressive. Some carried placards with slogans such as "It's Time for Every State to Integrate" and "Equality is the Thing That Makes Democracy Ring." Some sang. Some chanted.

During the Sylvan Theater rally, Representative Charles Diggs, a Negro Congressman from Michigan, was presented with petitions signed by over 400,000 students from all over the country. He promised to convey their message to Congress by a

Let UN solve Berlin dispute

A CALL to the British Government "to take the initiative in ensuring that the Berlin dispute is resolved by peaceful negotiation" was made in an emergency resolution passed at the annual meeting of the Labour Peace Fellowship last week-end.

"We believe," the resolution declares, "that a satisfactory settlement can only be reached as part of a wider plan that seeks the neutralisation of Central Europe including West and East Germany, Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia."

"We call upon the Labour Party to continue to press for the implementation of this policy and to urge Britain to welcome all plans for disengagement, including the Polish Rapacki Plan for a non-nuclear zone and the proposals of the German Social Democratic Party for German neutralisation and unity. The Labour Party should

keep in close touch with German Socialists when considering its attitude to the problem of Germany.

"We further believe that the supply of nuclear weapons and missiles to Western Germany should be discontinued.

"Finally, to prevent the Berlin situation developing into a serious crisis, that could lead to an outbreak of hostilities, we believe that the United Nations should take responsibility for promoting a solution acceptable to all parties."

Reviewing the work of the LPF in recent years, Victor Yates, MP, in his Chairman's address, said on three major issues Labour policy had been different from the Tories—Suez, China's admission to UN and European disengagement. It was misleading to say there was no difference. The socialist-pacifist message must still be voiced in the Labour movement.

By Sybil Morrison

Commonsense of Christianity

All of us owe our livelihood, our standard of living, our democratic freedoms to the present position of Britain in the world. In so far as we believe we should accept those benefits, we must face the fact that they are dependent upon the use of political and military power. . . Christian pacifism has not found clear articulation in terms of a political policy which can be responsibly adopted by a Government. . . "Christians and Atomic War." British Council of Churches.

The new pamphlet is a sensible, workmanlike document which reflects the serious study that this body has recently been giving to defence matters. It will not satisfy the pacifists, who believe that Christ's teaching is against the use of force in all circumstances. . . The Observer, April 26.

Christian Church finds itself in this nuclear age.

The fact that for centuries Christians have supported the method of war, and expected the ministers of their churches to bless the combatants and even the weapons, have accepted without demur the use of their churches for battle flags and emblems of war; have, in fact, prayed to God for victory, even when victory depended upon the use of such weapons as "obliteration bombing," the atom bomb, and napalm, is part of the reason why they face today the threat of total destruction.

These weapons are not isolated pheno-

mena which have suddenly manifested themselves without any basic reason; on the contrary, they are the direct and inexorable consequence of all these past centuries in which war has been relied upon by kings and governments, and in which Christian churches have accepted, condoned, and even advocated it.

It is true, as The Observer commentator remarks, that Christian pacifists believe Christ's teaching to be incompatible with war, and they undoubtedly stand upon unshakable ground in that contention, for even the non-Christian must agree that if the teaching of Jesus were followed by all,

speech on the House floor, which will be included in the Congressional Record. A highlight of the rally was an address by Tom Mboya, chairman of the All-Africa Peoples Conference, who is now in the U.S.

An important factor in the big turnout was official support from the top labour leadership. Both George Meany and Walter Reuther, president and vice-president of AFL-CIO, were among the Youth March sponsors.

One member of the delegation which visited the White House was Josephine Boyd, a Negro girl who graduated with top honours from a North Carolina high school. Commenting on her experience as the first Negro student in an integrated school, she said: "I am sure that if all adults would accept this situation as my fellow-students did, we would quickly gain compliance with the U.S. Supreme Court decision on integration. That is all we ask."

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war could no longer have a place in the world.

The arguments used by even the highest dignitaries of the Churches to deny this have in them little authentic ring, but rather sound a note of apologia that carries no conviction to the pacifist. It is clear that a conception of life based upon love instead of hatred, and trust instead of fear, is basically a repudiation, at the very outset, of the whole method of war, which necessarily involves indoctrination of hatred and mistrust, in order that reluctant people can more readily be induced to take part willingly in the killing and destruction, cruelty and barbarity which is war.

Those pacifists who are not Christian can accept that the Christian ethic is sound and true, and they can also see that it is plain common sense; it is, perhaps, this basic common sense of Christianity which is the essential need in the world today.

If the benefits of freedom and good living are dependent upon the ability to blow the world to pieces, common sense, let alone Christianity, must surely repudiate such a fatuous and futile method of "defence." Both morally and rationally the only answer today, as in the past, is no to war.

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